

# ANCIENT EGYPT

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# ANCIENT EGYPT.

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## THE ETHIOPIAN REVIVAL.

LONG ago the Nile dweller saw the changeableness of life, the streams of one year are dry desert in the next, and the place of them is no more. The collector feels this when he enters the modern hall of judgement, an auction room, and sees the gatherings of years scattered in a day. For a couple of generations past there lay in quiet repose, near Lincoln, the charming things which Mr. Frankland Hood had collected at Thebes; they were but little known, yet have borne fruit in the training of his grand-daughter, Mrs. Crowfoot, to the interests of Egypt. Now they have passed into many different hands from the sale room.

The Hood papyrus of the list of dignities is already a classic, and the great Fayum papyrus is also celebrated. The most important piece, historically, was the panel of an obscure king in the Delta, of which a photograph is given here; for this we must thank Mrs. Hood, and the kind attention of Major Warre. The only monument of this king yet published was a granite base of a statue, or shrine, dedicated by him at Tell el Yehudiyeh, which Prof. Naville identified with the name of Auput, who was subdued by Paonkhy in the XXVth dynasty. A few scarabs may also belong to him.

The slab here shown of User-maot-Ra, Amen mery, sǎ Bast, Uapet, is remarkable as an unusually large piece of flat faience, originally green according to traces of colour remaining. It is a foot high, and a slab of the same size has a figure of Horus on the lotus. Evidently both formed part of some large glazed naos or chest, which had been broken in fragments. After discovery, the pieces seem to have been ground down on the back till thin, and then mounted on slabs of slate.

The art of this piece is remarkable. By the time of the XXIIIrd dynasty Egypt was sunk in great degradation. The royal monuments are worse than at any other period; the small objects, such as scarabs, are barbarous. Here, however, is a vigorous work worthy of almost the best periods. The head is excellent, and has a strong resemblance to Taharqa; this raises the question of the influence of the Ethiopians. That they brought back a fine style of art to Egypt is obvious, as their works show, before the Saite supremacy; what is usually called the Saite revival was really Ethiopian. Was this head, then, only due to copying the Ethiopian sovereign, or was the kinglet a scion of the South? His name is from the XXIIInd dynasty, but he might be half a southerner, the son of a

Delta heiress and of Paonkhy when he first occupied Egypt. The neck is unusually thick, like that of Taharqa, going ten and a half times in the height ; in other figures of the IIIrd to XIXth dynasties the height is thirteen to seventeen times the thickness of neck. The shoulder knot and form of dress are closely like that of the Ist dynasty ; also the square row of flaps in front, over the diagonally ribbed loin cloth. The belt has stars on it, that of Normer has diagonal squares, but the idea of ornament remains, different from other ages. The resemblance of dress is so close that it seems as if some sculptures of the archaic time were known and studied as Ethiopian models, for this is quite unlike the usual work of the New Kingdom. The late influence is seen in the thin hieroglyphs, too slight for the massive cartouche, and the thin form of the *onkh* in the right hand.

As the earliest example of the Ethiopian revival of art, this piece deserves a permanent place in works on the subject, and it is therefore issued here for reference, as the destination of it is now unknown.

FLINDERS PETRIE.

“ L'AMOUR du passé est inné chez l'homme. Le passé émeut à l'envie le petit enfant et l'aïeule ; il n'en faut pour preuve que les contes de ma mère l'Oie, les fables du temps que les bêtes parlaient. Et si l'on cherche pourquoi toutes les imaginations humaines, fraîches ou flétries, tristes ou joyeuses, se tournent vers le passé, curieuses d'y pénétrer, on trouvera sans doute que le passé c'est notre seule promenade et le seul lieu où nous puissions échapper à nos ennuis quotidiens, à nos misères, à nous-mêmes. Le présent est aride et trouble, l'avenir est caché. Toute la richesse, toute la splendeur, toute la grâce du monde est dans le passé. Et cela les enfants le savent aussi bien que les vieillards.”

(*La Vie en Fleur*, ANATOLE FRANCE.)



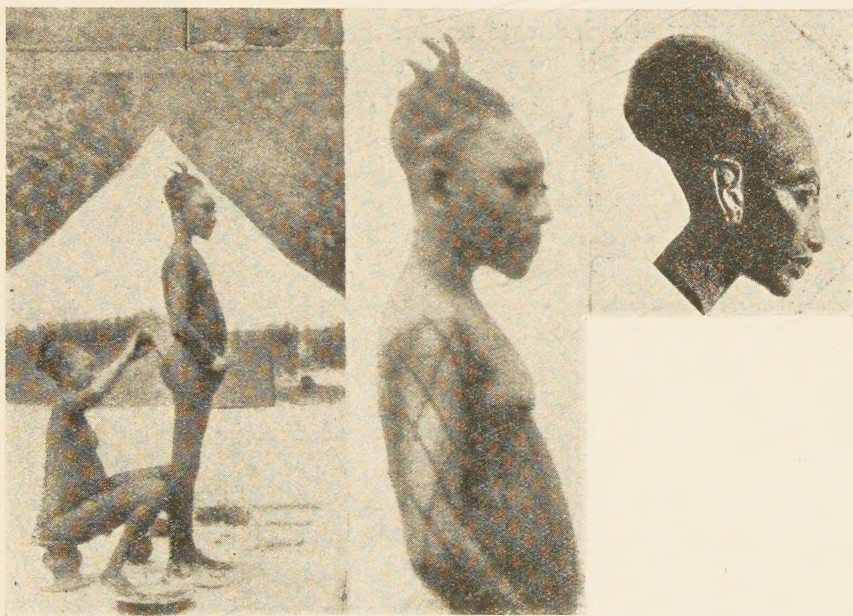
## DEFORMATION OF THE HEAD.

THE head of the Mangbettu maiden shown in Fig. 1 (taken from Mecklenburg's *The Congo, the Niger and the Nile*) is artificially elongated, and resembles that of the daughter of Akhenaton (Fig. 2) in the Cairo Museum, in several points.

The back of the skull is of the same shape in both, there is the same updrawing of the brows with resultant extension of the eyelids, and both have the pendulous chin.

The Berlin head shows some of these characters even more markedly, but a profile photograph was not available for reproduction.

As to how far these characteristics are the natural result of pathological or congenital cranial elongation, it would be interesting to obtain expert opinion.



1.—MANGBETTU MAIDEN.

2.—AKHENATON'S  
DAUGHTER.

A comparison of these photographs lends support to the theory that the characteristic head elongation of the Akhenaton family was artificial, and was not congenital, at any rate in the daughters.

The practice is stated still to persist in Syria, and it can hardly be doubted that the curious flat-headedness of the Hittites was artificially produced.

The Mangbettu, now a scattered people in the Welle district, are described by Schweinfurth, who visited them in 1873, shortly before their remarkable civilization was destroyed by the Arabs, as of negroid stock with coppery red flesh tint. Their language differs fundamentally from that of their neighbours, and its origin and affinities are not yet known. The ruling element is markedly less negroid than the lower types. The heads of boys are not deformed.

E. S. THOMAS.

## A DUPLICATE TEXT OF HOREMHEB'S CORONATION INSCRIPTION.

SIR FLINDERS PETRIE published in *Memphis I* (1909), pl. vi, an inscription on a portion of a stela which had been found lying in front of the pylon of the temple of Ptah at Memphis. It consists of the beginnings of twelve horizontal lines of hieroglyphs. How many lines preceded the present line 1 we have no means of judging, but it is probable that rather more than half of the stela is missing from the left-hand side of the monument. Line 12, had it been wholly preserved, would have completed the inscription. The monument itself is referred to in line 9, where it is said that the stela was carved out of sandstone and placed in front of a temple by a king "as his monument to his father Ptah-res-inb-ef." The king's name is lost and the stela has been attributed by its style to the period of Amenhotep III (*Memphis I*, p. 7). It is, in reality, a generation later, for the inscription gives part of a duplicate text of the famous Coronation Inscription of King Horemheb.<sup>1</sup> The missing part at the beginning must have referred to Horemheb's arrival at Thebes. Then the god Amon (line 2), "with his divine cycle following him," came out of his temple at Luxor to receive the prince. "When the second day dawned" Amon received Horemheb in audience and declared (line 3) him to be the son and heir of his body. The other gods of the cycle also recognised (line 4) Horemheb as the son of Amon, and assembling in solemn conclave they decided to bestow the kingdom of Egypt upon him. Line 5 begins the duplicate text of the Coronation Inscription on the Turin statue of the King. "He proceeded to the palace and Amon brought him before him to the Great House of his revered daughter the goddess Weret-hekau."<sup>2</sup> The Turin copy supplies the missing part of line 5. ["She did obeisance to him, she embraced his beauty, and placed herself before him. The gods, the lords of the Fire-Chamber, were in exultation because of his coronation . . . all the ennead of gods who preside over the great throne lifted praises to the height of heaven, rejoicing at the satisfaction of] Amon; behold Amon hath come, his son before him, to the palace, to set his crown upon his head, to lengthen his life" . . . . Precisely what followed now on the Memphis Stela is not certain, but line 7 gives a fragment of a speech of the gods in praise of the prince which is not found on the Turin statue. "He does that which satisfies thee, he has turned his back on evil, he has driven out deceit from the land."<sup>3</sup> His laws are firm." The text then probably referred to Amon and the prince retiring to the palace where ["he embraced his beauty"] crowned with the royal helmet in order to assign to him the circuit of the Aton and all lands in one place. Let (now) the great name of this good god and his titulary be made like [that of the majesty of Re, as follows:—]. Here must have been given the complete titulary of the king as in the Turin Coronation Inscription. The last three lines of the Memphis document relate to Horemheb's building activities.

PERCY E. NEWBERRY.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Walker, who printed a tentative translation of the inscription, does not appear to have noticed this.

<sup>2</sup> This corroborates Sethe's restoration given in *Ä.Z.*, XLIV, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> This may perhaps refer to the Aton heresy.



## THE GOD SETEKH IN THE PYRAMID TEXTS.

THE god Setekh, in spite of his prominence in the Osirian myths, is a deity about whom comparatively little is known, for the later religious texts, which are by far the most numerous and the most studied, while they lay stress on his malevolent activities in the Osirian and the Horus myths, shed but little light on his origin and history. The Pyramid Texts, on the other hand, which give us a good deal of information about him, are of primary importance, as they show the oldest beliefs concerning this god which have come down to us.

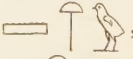
The correct name of this deity is *Štḥ* (in the Pyramid Texts written *Stš*), and was probably pronounced with a long vowel in the first syllable (*Sēteh* or similarly). In the pyramid of Wenis the name is always written with the word-sign of the Setekh animal  (the full writing  once only Pyr. § 84a=W 128), but in the other pyramids it is invariably written phonetically , the figure of the animal being omitted, possibly lest it should exercise a malign influence over the dead king. The meaning of the name is not known, and the species of animal which typifies Setekh has not been satisfactorily determined; creatures as dissimilar as the donkey, the pig, the fennec, and the okapi having been suggested. The long sharp muzzle, the upright ears, the general shape of the body, and the dog-like couchant attitude, with the paws stretched out straight in front, in which the animal is generally represented, suggest some kind of canine, for the graminivorous animals, such as the donkey, lie with their forelegs tucked under them, while the Setekh-animal does not look in the least like a pig. The greatest obstacles to satisfactory identification are the ears and tail, which belong to no animal known to science, for the former are square-ended, while the latter is always represented as ending in either a V-shaped fork or the feathered end of an arrow, and is always extended stiffly in an upright direction. The curious object at the end of the tail may possibly be derived from a misunderstood representation of a tuft of hair. The earliest representations of Setekh, which appear over the Setekh-names of the kings of the IIInd dynasty, depict the creature as walking in a curious stiff-legged manner, but in the Pyramid Texts it is always shown in a couchant attitude.

The Pyramid Texts represent the worship of Setekh as centred in the town of Ombos, in Upper Egypt: "Thou (the deceased) providest thyself with the magician, even Setekh, who is in Ombos, Lord of the South Land" (§ 204; *cf. also* § 205);<sup>1</sup> "This Wenis washes himself, Re appears, the Great Ennead shines, He of Ombos (determined with the Setekh-animal) is high in front of the shrine"; "The strength of Merenre is the strength of Setekh of Ombos" (§ 1145); "may the name of Setekh of Ombos flourish" (§ 1667). The only other place associated with Setekh is a town called    or   (§§ 734, 1904), where Setekh is described as "He who is in Henti." The situation of this place is not known.

<sup>1</sup> The "speech" and paragraph numbers cited as references are those of Sethe's edition of the Pyramid Texts. Whether Nubt (Ombos) refers to the city south of Silsileh, or that opposite Denderah, is not certain.

Of the actual attributes of Setekh as a god, even the Pyramid Texts do not tell us much, but it is clear that he was to some extent the embodiment of the destructive powers of nature. In one passage we find him connected with the injurious rays of the sun, for it is written of Osiris: "Thou art set up, O Osiris, thy umbrella<sup>1</sup> which repels the power of Setekh is over thee, O Osiris" (§ 1487); while he seems also to be connected with destructive floods: "The odour of the Eye of Horus is on this Wenis, it drives out thy (*sic*) moisture, it protects thee from the flood of the hand of Setekh (§ 20), and further the word  "storm" is determined with the Setekh-animal (§ 298b=W 437). He is associated with metal in the passage "Horus has opened the mouth of this Nefer-ka-re with that wherewith he opened the mouth of his father, with that wherewith he opened the mouth of Osiris, with the metal which came forth from Setekh, with the instruments of metal which opened the mouth of the gods" (§§ 13-14). It is possible that he may be in some way connected with the moon: "O Osiris Nefer-ka-re, receive the finger of Setekh, which causes the white Eye of Horus to see. O Osiris Nefer-ka-re, receive the white Eye of Horus, which shines on the finger of Setekh" (§ 48). He is certainly connected with the power of reproduction, for the generative organs of Setekh are the counterpart of the Eye of Horus (*cf.* §§ 418 (T), 594, 679, 1463). In § 418 the Wenis (Unas) text has the variant "the Bull," typical of reproductive power, instead of the name of Setekh. He is even conceived as winged, for in one passage "the Eye of Horus has been placed upon the wing of his brother Setekh" (§ 1742). Finally, in two passages Setekh is mentioned in conjunction with the uraeus serpent: "Pepy is the uraeus which came forth from Setekh, which he took and carried away" (§ 1459); "Horus is this which came forth from the Nile, the Long-horned Bull is this which came forth from the fortress, the Viper is this which came forth from Re, the Uraeus is this which came forth from Setekh" (§ 2047).

In searching the Pyramid Text material for the beliefs held with regard to Setekh, we find a number of distinct and contradictory ideas as to his relations both to the other gods of Egypt and to the deceased, probably representing different stages in his history. He was not always the hated divinity we are accustomed to think him, but originally ranked equally with the other gods. This is brought out quite clearly in a number of passages: "He who goes, goes with his *ka*, Horus goes with his *ka*, Setekh goes with his *ka*, Sepa (?) goes with his *ka*, Khentiyerti goes with his *ka*" (§ 17, similarly §§ 826 and 832); "Thou art purified, Horus is purified; thou art purified, Setekh is purified; thou art purified, Thoth is purified; thou art purified, Sepa (?) is purified" (§ 27, similarly § 28). In speech 217 Osiris, Isis, Thoth, Horus, Setekh, and Nephthys are called upon to proclaim the coming of Pepy II to the gods; in speech 308 we read: "Hail, O Horus in the Horite Regions! Hail, O Setekh in the Setekhite Regions! Hail, O Yarew in the Fields of Rushes! Hail, *Tty-yb*, ye daughters of the four gods who are before the Great House! The voice of Wenis is brought forth, so unveil ye! Wenis has looked at you like the looking of Horus at Isis; Wenis has looked at you like the looking of Nehebkau at Selket; Wenis has looked at you like the looking of Sebek at Neith; Wenis has looked at you like the

<sup>1</sup> The word here translated as "umbrella" is , which is clearly closely connected with  "shade," "shadow." The sign  apparently represents a kind of sunshade.



looking of Setekh at the *Tty-yb* " (§§ 488-489) ; in speech 534 Setekh occurs with Horus, Osiris, Khenti, Isis, Nephthys, Em-khenti-yerti and Thoth ; in speech 575 with Horus, Geb, the Souls of Heliopolis and the Souls of Pe ; in speech 591 with Horus, Thoth, and Sepa (?). Setekh is also a member of the Great Ennead of Heliopolis, as in speech 577 and 600 ; but, on the other hand, the Ennead is sometimes hostile to him, for in speech 219 his place in the Ennead is taken by Horus son of Isis, and Setekh is addressed thus : " O Setekh, this is thy brother Osiris, whose restoration is caused, that he may live and punish thee " (§ 173), while in speech 593 the deceased king is informed that " The Nine Gods protect thee, they have placed Setekh under thee " (§1628).

The greatest interest in the Pyramid Texts with regard to Setekh lies in his relations with Horus and Osiris. The relations of Setekh and Horus may be divided into three headings : (1) they stand over against each other as counterparts representing the two divisions of the country, without suggestion of either friendliness or hostility : " Thou (*Tayt* = the Eye of Horus) causeth the Two Lands to bow to this *Wenis* like their bowings to Horus, thou causeth the Two Lands to fear *Wenis* like their fear of Setekh " (§ 57) ; " O *Seer* (the deceased), thou hast seen the forms of the children of their fathers, whose language is known, the Imperishable Stars ; thou seest those who are in the Palace, who are Horus and Setekh " (§ 141) ; " Thou art begotten by Horus, thou art conceived by Setekh " (§ 211*b*) ; " Awake for Horus ! Arise for Setekh ! Raise thyself, thou eldest son of Geb " (§ 1710) ; " Thou journeyest around the regions of Horus, thou journeyest around the regions of Setekh " (§ 135). The " regions of Horus " and the " regions of Setekh " are mentioned together no less than fourteen times in the Pyramid Texts. (2) Horus and Setekh co-operate for the benefit of the deceased : " *Wenis* stands upon this ladder which his father *Re* has made for him ; Horus and Setekh take hold of the hands of *Wenis* and take him to the *Dewat* " (§ 390) ; " Thou art indeed a god, whose places are pure, who camest forth from the pure place ; ' Arise, O *Wenis*, ' says Horus ; ' Sit down, O *Wenis*, ' says Setekh " (§ 473) ; " The right side of *Tety* is that on which is Horus. . . . the left side of *Tety* is that on which is Setekh " (§ 601) ; " Horus has driven out the evil which was on this *Tety* in his four days ; Setekh has annulled that which he did against this *Tety* in his eight days " (§ 746) ; " Horus bears *Mer-en-re*, Setekh lifts him up " (§ 1148) ; " Ho *Nefer-ka-re* ! ' Horus has woven thy booth over thee, Setekh has spread out thy awnings " (§ 2100) ; and in a spell against snake-bite recited on behalf of the deceased, the serpent is addressed : " Horus has hacked thee to pieces, that thou mayest not live ; Setekh has cast thee down, that thou mayest not arise " (§ 678). (3) Setekh appears as the mortal foe of Horus, whom the latter overcomes, the texts frequently referring to the struggles which took place over the Eye of Horus : " O *Wenis*, receive the Eye of Horus, wrested from Setekh and saved for thee " (§ 39) ; " Ho *Osiris Tety* ! Horus has come, he embraces thee, he has caused Thoth to turn back the followers of Setekh, he has brought them to thee altogether ; he has driven back the heart of Setekh for thee, for thou art greater than he " (§§ 575-576) ; " Horus has come, he recognizes thee, he has smitten Setekh for thee bound, and thou art his *ka* ; Horus has driven him back for thee, and thou art greater than he " (§ 587) ; " The Eye of Horus leaps up and falls on yonder side of the Lotus-canal, that it may protect itself from Setekh " (§ 594) ; " This *Pepy* has sought it (the Eye of Horus) in *Pe*, he has found it in Heliopolis ; this *Pepy* has taken it from the head of Setekh in that place where they fought " (§ 1242) ; " Loosen Horus from his bonds, that he may punish the

followers of Setekh; slay them, cut out their hearts, wade in their blood" (§§ 1285-1286). There is also an allusion to the law-suit between Setekh and Horus which was adjudicated at Heliopolis by Geb: "This Pepy arises, he has taken honour in thy presence as Horus took the house of his father from his father's brother Setekh in the presence of Geb" (§ 1219). One passage curiously enough shows Horus appealing to Setekh: "O Osiris Nefer-ka-re, this is this Eye of Horus which he has begged from Setekh" (§ 65).

As the Osiris cult gained ground in Egypt, Setekh became hostile to him also, and Horus is then the son and avenger of Osiris. In the texts relating to the Horus-Setekh feud it is not always clear whether the foe of Setekh is his original enemy, the old tribal Horus, or whether he is the son of Isis, and it is not unlikely that the old tribal myth of the struggles of Horus and Setekh was transferred bodily into the Osirian legend, and that the cause of the feud was then sought in the murder of Osiris by Setekh, whereas the original cause was a rivalry for the supremacy of Egypt, which was finally settled by Geb when he acted as judge in the great law-suit which the two rivals brought before the court of the gods at Heliopolis. The account of the Osiris-Setekh legend current in the Pyramid Age, and to which the Pyramid Texts frequently allude, is, broadly speaking, in agreement with that given by Plutarch; but the details differ, there being no trace of the latter's story of Osiris being lured into a chest and cast into the Nile, which is probably a later development. According to the Pyramid Texts, the murder took place either in Nedyt or in the land of Gehesti: "Isis and Nephthys have come . . . . . they have found Osiris whom his brother Setekh felled to the earth in Nedyt" (§ 1256); "Thou hast come seeking thy brother Osiris, whom his brother Setekh threw down upon his side in yonder side of the land of Gehesti" (§ 972); "He (Geb) has found him (Osiris) lying upon his side in Gehesti; O Osiris, stand up before thy father Geb; he will protect thee from Setekh" (§ 1033). Yet Osiris and Setekh are both members of the Great Heliopolitan Ennead, and in speech 577 we find the Great Ennead, including Setekh, rejoicing at "this great and mighty word which proceeded from the mouth of Thoth on behalf of Osiris" (§ 1523). This inconsistency seems to have troubled the Egyptian theologians a little, for, as already shown, the Ennead becomes hostile to Setekh, and his place in it is taken by Horus son of Isis. We even have an allusion to the trial of Setekh before the gods of Heliopolis for the murder of Osiris: "Remember, O Setekh, and put in thy heart this word which Geb spoke, this threat which the gods made against thee in the House-of-the-Prince in Heliopolis because thou didst throw down Osiris to the earth, when thou didst say, O Setekh: 'I have not done this against him,' that thou mightest have power thereby, being saved that thou mightest have power over Horus; when thou didst say, O Setekh: 'It was he who bowed me down'; . . . . . when thou didst say, O Setekh: 'It was he who attacked me'" (§§ 957-959).

In a few passages we find Setekh and Thoth associated as a pair of gods. For example, it is said to the deceased: "Behold that which Setekh and Thoth did, thy two unknown brothers who lament thee" (§ 163); in speech 219, while the Two Enneads are called upon to restore Osiris (= the deceased) to life, Setekh and Thoth are each addressed thus: "This is thy brother Osiris, whose restoration is caused, that he may live and punish thee" (§§ 173, 175); while in speech 327 Horus, Setekh, and Thoth are associated in a capacity favourable to the deceased: "The porter of Horus loves Tety and brings to him his Eye; the porter of Setekh loves Tety and brings to him his generative organs; the porter of Thoth loves



Tety and brings to him his arm ; the Double Ennead has trembled on account of them " (§§ 535-536). But even Thoth is infected with the general detestation of Setekh : " Ho Osiris Tety ! Horus has come that he may embrace thee, he has caused Thoth to turn back the followers of Setekh for thee " (§ 575) ; " Pepy is purified with the purification which Horus did for his Eye ; Pepy is Thoth, who protects you, but Pepy is not Setekh, who took it (the Eye of Horus) " (§ 1233) ; " Thou art Thoth, who protects it (the Eye of Horus), thou art not Setekh, who took it " (§ 2213).

The same inconsistency appears in the relations of Setekh with the deceased. Setekh has already been shown as acting on his behalf in conjunction with the other gods, and he further appears alone as a friend of the departed Pharaoh : " Re called to thee from the *yskn* of the sky, thou ascendest to the god, and Setekh is friendly to thee " (§ 1016) (so M and N ; the P text has the variant " Horus " instead of " Seth ") ; " The arms of Pepy are those of Setekh " (§ 1309) ; " Mer-en-re has escaped his day of death as Seth escaped his day of death " (§ 1453) ; " Mer-en-re is freed (?) by Horus ; Mer-en-re is protected by Setekh " (§ 1465) ; and in speech 478 the ladder on which the Pharaoh ascends to the sky is called " the ladder of Setekh." On the other hand, however, he is frequently the enemy of the deceased, from whom he must be protected : " The odour of the Eye of Horus is on this Wenis, it drives out thy (*sic*) moisture, it protects thee from the flood of the hand of Setekh " (§ 20). " Horus has come, he recognizes thee (the deceased), he has smitten Setekh for thee bound " (§ 587) (so T, M, and N ; the P text has the variant " thy enemy ") ; " O Nut, spread thyself over thy son the Osiris Pepy, protect him from Setekh " (§ 777) ; " Horus has seized Setekh, he has placed him under thee, that he may lift thee up and tremble under thee as the earth trembles " (§ 581) ; " It is Horus who shall avenge that which Setekh did against thee " (§ 592) ; " Horus will not seat Setekh upon thy throne for ever, O Osiris Pepy. Awake for Horus, arise against Setekh, thou first-born son of Geb " (§§ 1258-1259) ; " Horus has brought Setekh to thee, he has given him to thee, and he is prostrate under thee " (§ 1632). Setekh is even forced by the gods to serve the deceased Pharaoh : " He to whom evil was done by his brother Setekh comes to us, say the Eighteen Gods, and truly we shall not permit Setekh to be free from bearing thee for ever, O King Osiris Mer-en-re " (§ 1699) ; " The Eighteen Gods have come to thee bowing, and thou governest the spirits as Min who is in his house, as Horus of Debā'et ; truly Setekh is not free from lifting up thy offerings for ever " (§ 1993).

The reversal in the character of Setekh, which changes him from one of the principal gods of the Egyptian Pantheon to an Ishmael with every hand against him, renders him almost unique among the gods, and it is highly probable that it is primarily due to political events, although the connection of Setekh with the harmful aspects of Nature no doubt assisted in the change. The legend of the feud between Setekh and Horus is much more prominent in the Pyramid Texts than that of Setekh and Osiris, and is certainly the older of the two. It is significant that only one allusion to the Setekh-Osiris story is to be found in the whole body of texts from the two earlier of the five inscribed pyramids of Saqqara, those of Wenis and Tety (*i.e.*, in § 173 = W 246-247), but that references to it become fairly frequent in the three later pyramids of Pepy I, Mer-en-re, and Pepy II, although even there the Horus legend is still the more prominent. It is perhaps more than a coincidence that the increase in the number of allusions to the Osirian legend in the Pyramid Texts is contemporary with the great spread of the worship of Osiris

which took place in the second half of the VIth dynasty, to which the tomb inscriptions of that time bear witness.

A numerical examination of the Pyramid Texts with regard to Setekh yields the remarkable result that out of 101 speeches in which he is mentioned, he can be said definitely to have an evil character in 40 only, so that it is clear that during the Old Kingdom *period* Setekh is by no means the universally hated deity which he later becomes. A subdivision of the Setekh texts under his relations with Horus, Osiris, and the deceased cannot be wholly satisfactory, owing to the contradictory nature of some of the speeches, and the readiness with which the deceased king is identified with both Horus and Osiris, which causes a good deal of overlapping, so that a given speech may come under all three headings at once. A numerical analysis of the material gives the following approximate results: of the 69 passages in which Setekh is associated with Horus, he bears a hostile character in 27; of the 20 in which Setekh and Osiris occur together, he is hostile in 9; while in the case of his relations with the deceased, out of 49 passages he is malevolent in 20. Two facts emerge as a result of this analysis: (1) that there are two distinct strata of belief concerning this god (that in which he has an evil character being the later); and (2) that in the Pyramid Texts the distribution of the two beliefs is fairly even, the balance being slightly in favour of Setekh. It is remarkable, however, that in the case of his relations with Osiris the proportion of texts which show him in an evil character is considerably higher than in the case of his association with Horus; in fact, apart from those passages in which Setekh and Osiris are associated as members of the same Ennead, the former is almost exclusively hostile, which accords with the comparatively late spread of the cult of Osiris as a god of the dead, when the evil character of Setekh was already becoming established.

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## THE ROYAL OFFICIALS.

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| Sealers .....     | 332-356 | Almoners .....   | 461-469 |
| Secretaries ..... | 357-375 | Gardening .....  | 475-484 |
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| Messengers .....  | 401-415 | Porters .....    | 508-510 |
| Scribes .....     | 416-449 | Public works ... | 511-548 |
| Inspectors .....  | 450-460 | Granaries .....  | 549-570 |

BESIDE the Palace officials, dealt with in our last number, there were many departments immediately under the king, and often with royal designation. Most prominently there are the sealers in the higher offices, responsible to the king. This use of seals was not only for closing letters, but more essentially for marking and securing property in the absence of any locks; they also gave the power of acknowledgement in the king's name in tax receipts, superseded later by the interminable ostraka of Roman times. Pepy I tried to suppress the family hold on offices by issuing a series of large official cylinders bearing the title only (as servant of the king), but no name of the holder. The original idea of sealing is by finger prints on clay, the word for finger and seal being the same, *zebo*, sealing being literally "fingering." Thus, early in the Ist dynasty, there was a man "over the fingers" or sealings (332); in the VIth dynasty is an "intendant of sealings," *zebou*, checking over the oxen delivered, probably sealed by him (333), and an officer called *zebt*, which may mean sealing or closing (334). In Roman times an official is designated by a finger acting (335); he seems to have been the scaler for petty supplies of cookery, sweetmeats, wine and stone delivered to the house, beneath the notice of a high sealer. In the latter part of the Ist dynasty there was the royal sealer, *bati sohu* or *khetm* (336); it continued to be a high office, usually held by the vezier, till the Saite times. There was an intendant of the royal sealers (337) who had a diwan (338); also a sealer of documents of Horus (king) in his dwelling (339). Locally there was a southern sealer of all documents (340) in the IIInd dynasty, and later an intendant of the seal (*khetm*) of south and north (341). Of lower grade, a very common title is the intendant of sealing (342), who also had an administrator (343). The office was so important that there was a "door opener of the scribe of the signet" (344), a deputy of the intendant of sealers (345-6), and a deputy sealer (347). The vezier in the Vth and VIth dynasties was Intendant of the Record Office under the seal (348). In the earliest dynastics, and on to the XIIth, the seal was represented as a cylinder rolling on the clay (349), and the keeper of the seal is named in the XIIth dynasty (350, 351). The form of the sign (after 349) was, in the IIIrd dynasty, an upright cylinder with a chain of beads, changed into an outline later on (352). The diwan of the royal sealer was in the *khā* hall of columns (353); the deputy sealers had an intendant over them (354), and there was a scribe attending to the seal (355), also a guard of the intendant, one of whom left a stele (356).

The Secretaryships mostly belong to legal matters of the vezier and the judges. The title was "over the things caused to be secret," *her sesheta*, from *shetä*, "secret." It implied no more than our *secretary*, as it had to be duplicated for a confidential secretary. The royal secretaries were "Secretary of the king in the palace daily" (357), or in all his residences (358). One belonging to Sneferu is named (359), another was "of the good god" (king) (360). There was a "Secretary of all the registers of the king" (361), or of the register of the palace (362). Another was secretary of the orders of the king (363), or of the words of Horus (king) (364). This title disappears after the Middle Kingdom (except in Saite archaism), and in the XVIIIth dynasty there is the title (365) which is *her sesheta* in later usage (B.A. 279). This was similarly attached to the king, in the palace (366-7-8-9-370). As belonging to the "chamber of gold" (371), it referred to the tomb; there are engravers of the house of gold, which would not apply to the Treasury, and the secretary would hardly be needed in a jeweller's workshop. A confidential secretary is implied in (372) "in the back of affairs," a private manager. The *per nefer* is more likely to read *per oa*, the palace (373). In (374) is an unknown sign; (375) refers to the Treasury.

The king had also private agents to report to him. In the Ist dynasty, one Kasä was "eyes of the king" (376); later in the VIth, the title *am mert* seems to refer to the pilot rather than to the agent. In the New Kingdom there were many such agents, "eyes of the king in the land unto its limits" (378); "eyes of the south king, ears of the north king" (379), "all ears in control of the farms" or country houses (380), to report what went on in the estates. Such agents had scribes with them (381). For difficult matters a special enquiry agent was employed, as "true examiner of his lord" (382).

There was a large class of *uhemu* (383), who were not only reporters, or "repeaters" of news, but were also agents to repeat orders to be carried out. Thus "legate" might be the nearest expression for this office. It is most fully stated by the great vezier Pasar, who was "Legate of the king, in his image organizing" or glorifying (384). In the Middle Kingdom there was a "chief legate of the king" (385), and in the XXth dynasty legates appear (386). There were "expert legates" (387), a "legate in all lands" (388), and a "valiant one, legate of the king" (389). The chief legate was one of the regular officers of the XXIIInd dynasty (390). A very capable one was said to "wash the heart" (391) or satisfy the king. The vezier also had a legate (392), and a great scribe was attached to the office (393).

There was also a less authoritative class of messengers, the *uput*, who had simply to transmit declarations or orders, *upt*, and, as such, perhaps the name "orderly" might best be used. There was the "royal orderly, messenger to all lands" (394), or "to the land of the Kheta" (395), a "royal orderly over the sea-going ships" (396), an "orderly messenger" (397), a royal orderly to the marshal (398), an "intendant of all the orders of the king" (399). There seems to have been a mess room for the orderlies, as there was an "attendant of the dinner table of the orderly" (400).

The general messengers, *uortu*, were of two kinds, the "*uortu* of doings" (401) and the "*uortu* of making reply" (402), that is for carrying out work, or for messages. There were keepers of the *uortu* of the good god (403), of the king over all water, land and desert (404), of the council in the court (405); of the *uortu* over the feast of beholding this day of the slaughter of the Asiatics (406), a feast like that of the slaughter of the Anu, or Dingaan's day in S. Africa. A messenger was employed to report on the Nile, probably noting the shoals (407),



- 332 𐀭𐀮𐀮𐀮 I RT.XIX,10 𐀮
- 333 𐀭𐀮𐀮𐀮 VI MEIR, IV, XVI 𐀮
- 334 𐀭𐀮𐀮𐀮 VI S.M.I. XXX. 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 335 𐀭𐀮𐀮𐀮 RO. B.A. 225
- 336 𐀭𐀮𐀮𐀮 I RT.XXXI,43 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 337 𐀭𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 338 𐀭𐀮𐀮𐀮 M.K. L, v, 10 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 339 𐀭𐀮𐀮𐀮 C.M.I, VII
- 340 𐀭𐀮𐀮𐀮 II RT.II, 164 𐀮
- 341 𐀭𐀮𐀮𐀮 XIX, B.M. 603 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 342 𐀭𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 343 𐀭𐀮𐀮𐀮 M.K. C.20085 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 344 𐀭𐀮𐀮𐀮 M.K. C.20056 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 345 𐀭𐀮𐀮𐀮 M.K. B.M. 189 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 346 𐀭𐀮𐀮𐀮 M.K. SIN. 28 𐀮
- 347 𐀭𐀮𐀮𐀮 M.K. B.M. 144 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 348 𐀭𐀮𐀮𐀮 V S.M.VI 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 349 𐀭𐀮𐀮𐀮 I RT.II, VII, 12 𐀮
- 350 𐀭𐀮𐀮𐀮 B.M. VASE
- 351 𐀭𐀮𐀮𐀮 M.K. C.20080 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 352 𐀭𐀮𐀮𐀮 III P.M. 33
- 353 𐀭𐀮𐀮𐀮 C.20570 𐀮
- 354 𐀭𐀮𐀮𐀮 A.S.I, 132 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 355 𐀭𐀮𐀮𐀮 M.K. C.20455 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 356 𐀭𐀮𐀮𐀮 M.K. C.20441 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 357 𐀭𐀮𐀮𐀮 V, L.D. II, 65 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 358 " 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 IV. L.D. II, 33B 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 359 " 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 III B.M. 9 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 360 " 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 A.S.III, 258 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 361 " 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 M.M. D37 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 362 " 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 D.M. 531 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 363 " 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 V, L.D. II, 45 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 364 " 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 V M.M. D38 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 365 𐀭𐀮𐀮𐀮 XIX, B.T.V, 950 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 366 " 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 XVIII, L.D. III, 258 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 367 " 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 XXVI T.SAR. 220 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 368 " 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 XIX? SIN. 302 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 369 " 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 XIX B.M. 603 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 370 " 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 371 " 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 XXVI REC.IX.59 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 372 " 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 PTOL. B.M.
- 373 " 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 XVIII Q. 295 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 374 " 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 BER. 1305 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 375 " 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 XIX B-REC. II, 74 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 376 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 I RT.I. XX, 28 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 377 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 VI SIN. 16, 17
- 378 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 W.M.C. III, 83
- 379 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 QURN. 256 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 380 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 W.M.C. II
- 381 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 A.S. XVII, 92 𐀮
- 382 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 V S.M.I, VII 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 383 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 XII P.S. 86, 87 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 384 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 XIX L.D. III, 132 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 385 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 P. 26 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 386 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 P.J. II, 3 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 387 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 388 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 RO. B.A. 223 𐀮
- 389 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 BER. 1389 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 390 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 XXII H 𐀮
- 391 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 M.K. C.20429 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 392 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 M.K. C.20102 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 393 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 T. 16 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 394 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 A.S. XX, 6
- 395 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 XVIII REC. IX, 37 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 396 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 XIX P.SED. LXXIII 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 397 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 RO. B.A. 222 𐀮
- 398 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 XVIII SIN. 184
- 399 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 A.S. XIII, 134
- 400 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 M.K. C.20667 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 401 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 B.M.
- 402 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 B.M.
- 403 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 R.D. CXXXVII 𐀮
- 404 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 L.R. 197 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 405 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 L.F. 252 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 406 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 L.R. 314 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 407 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 XII N.B.H. I, XVI 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 408 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 BER. 1379 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 409 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 M.K. C.20709 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 410 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 C. L. 400 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮
- 411 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮 M.K. C.20056 𐀮𐀮𐀮𐀮

For abbreviations see last number, pp. 112, 113. Also: B.T., Brugsch, Thesaurus. C.M., Champollion, Monumens. D.A., Davies, Akhethetep. Desh(ashah). Ln., Leiden. Lv., Liverpool. M.D., Morgan, Dahshur. Meir (Blackman). Mun(ich) Glyptothek. P.D., Petrie, Denderah. Q., Qurneh Tomb. R.D., Rosellini, Mon. Divin. W.M.C., Wilkinson, Manners and Customs.

for the chief's fruit or grain (408), for the chief's table (409), and for catering for the high table of the *khā* hall of the vezier (410). There was also a scribe over the sealing of the land messengers (411). The messengers were an organized body, as there was an overseer (412), and an intendant (413).

The great noble Amthen was intendant of the tribute bearers (414), and there was an office of "the royalties of the king in the palace gate" (415).

The scribes were a large class, and from modern experience they are likely to have been influential in all the details of affairs. The most important were the royal scribes, who were not only employed about the court, but were sent to various centres of wealth, like our Treasury clerks, to supervise the interests of taxation. Side by side with the clerks of the chief at Beni Hasan there sits a "royal scribe" of accounts to note all the produce on which a share may be due to the king (416). There was a "scribe of the records before the king" (417), and an "intendant of the scribes before the king" (418). In the XXIIInd dynasty we find "royal scribes of the inventory of store houses of the palace" (419). Special work went to an "expert scribe of the office of royal documents" (420), and an "intendant of the royal scribes of documents" (421). The checkers were organized with an "intendant of the royal scribes over against one another," *obu*, to place things face to face, the *αντιγραφεις* (422-3).

We find a palace scribe of the office (424), scribe of the letters of the palace (425), scribe of the letters of the queen (426) who was in some cases a woman (B.A. 204), a scribe of Pharaoh (427), an intendant of the palace scribes (428), a controller of the scribes of the king (429), and an intendant of royal scribes (430). Of private positions, there is the spelling *sešh* for scribe in the IInd dynasty (431), an intendant (432) and controller of all scribes (433). The intendant of the writings (434), figured by the bag with a long neck in which they were carried (*see also* L.D. II, 23); the form is better than that of the modern brief bag. There were special scribes of the southern correspondence (435), of the vezier (436), of the valuation, writing the inventory of cattle (437), of the catering (438), of the servants' hall (439). Higher grades were the "expert scribe" (440), the "excellent scribe" (441), the draughtsman (442), the "overseer of scribe engravers" (443), the "expert scribe of form" (444), in sculpture or painting, the foreman of sculptors (445), also the intendant of the messengers of the scribes of sculptors (446), and another intendant of messengers belonged to the office of scribes (447). There was, it seems, a strong organization of all the technical work. The documents drawn up were officially sealed by the lieutenant of the intendant of sealing documents (448). A general practitioner was the "scribe in the *khā* halls together among multitudes" (449), a public scribe who wandered round the law courts for employment.

The Inspectors (450) *rudu*, of the New Kingdom, do not seem to have been closely attached to departments, but to have been general advisers. The name is probably a Semitic importation from רר dominion. There were inspectors of the harem (451), of the palace (452), of the storehouse or dwelling (453), a superintendent of inspectors of his Majesty (454), an expert inspector (455), and a scribe of the inspector of stores (456). A title which might be confounded with this has *rud* as the name of a "fertile" district, that most prolific region of Saft el Henneh, "the Leader of the fertile land of the sun" (457). Earlier titles of inspection were "making sound all things" (458), and "keeper of the fine things" (459), both in the IInd dynasty. Later there is an intendant of all things of the king (460).



|     |          |                     |     |              |                       |
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| 412 | 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢     | B.M.                | 452 | 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢     | XIX B.A. 265          |
| 413 | 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢     | M.K. C. 20081       | 453 | 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢     | T. 3022 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢=4𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢    |
| 414 | 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 | III L.D. II, 8      | 454 | 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 | G.M. 967 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢         |
| 415 | 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 | XXII H.             | 455 | 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢     | A.S. XI, 86 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢      |
| 416 | 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 | XII N.Bh. I, XXX    | 456 | 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢     |                       |
| 417 | 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 | VI MEIR. IV, IV     | 457 | 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 | A.S. XX, 126          |
| 418 | 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 | XII REC. X, 144     | 458 | 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢     | II RT. II, XXIII, 201 |
| 419 | 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 | XXII H.             | 459 | 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢     | II RT. II, XXII, 188  |
| 420 | 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 | A.S. III, 72        | 460 | 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢     | M.K. C. 20683         |
| 421 | 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 | V L.D. II, 45-8     | 461 | 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢     | M.M. C. I             |
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The royal almoner, *henku* (461), was active in the Old Kingdom. There was a keeper of alms (462), a keeper of the house of gifts of the office of alms (463), a royal controller of alms (464), an overseer of the almonry (465), an intendant of the diwan of the almonry (466), a clerk of the almonry (467), and an expert of all the royal alms (468). A curious title (469) is "royal almoner in public works that are bare" or unfruitful (*ushr*); this means a recompense to the *corvée* when

employed on work that was not for the benefit of their own district. There is no trace of this almonry in the New Kingdom, when the old feudal partnership of society died out. The absence of any human determinative after *henku* shows that the term does not refer to a class of people, as was supposed.

The festivals will be dealt with among religious titles, but we may note the earliest mention of officials for the purpose. At the end of the Ist dynasty Sabef was "controller of the festival in the palace of Horus the monarch" (470), and "intendant of the *sed* feast" (471).

The court officials are not often named as such. One man claims to be influential in the midst of the court (472); *ău* here seems intermediate between its sense of respect and of expansion. There was an intendant of the court (473), and one was "over the silencing of the court alone for the king" (474).

The garden was a very important charge, often under the vezier; in that climate it is naturally the best place for living and working, as well as being a pleasance. There was an office of the palace garden (475), and intendants of the garden (476-7-8). The great Senmut managed the garden of Amen and Mut at Thebes (479). There were palace students in the garden (480); see *em khat* "in the following," as scholars in sculpture. Experts are named (481-2), and a controller of the vine-dressers (484). Most of these titles belong to the Old Kingdom, when gardens were often represented in tombs, and they continued throughout the history, and were an important feature in Arab and modern times among the rich, but unknown to the peasantry now.

The hunting and fowling of the king in the Old Kingdom was in charge of the "Intendant of all the diversions of the king" (485), *sekhmekh ab*, diversion, amusement. A similar title in the New Kingdom was the inspector of all the amusements (486), and of the sailors of the king (B.M. 471); *sed* here being explained by *sezăi*, to amuse, and *sed* to shine, like the cry for "brighter London."

The cooks are mostly of importance in the XVIIIth dynasty, when the made dishes were ruining the royal teeth (P. *Amarna*, V). The head cook of queen Taiy appears (487-8), and a cook of *shoy* cakes, probably shortbread of a crumbly nature (489). The brazier or fire place, *okhen*, gives the name to the cooks in later time, *okhny* or *okknu* (490-1). What seems to be a figure of the cooking stove appears in the title, keeper of the office of the king's kitchen (?) (492). The intendant of the king's repast is named (493), and the clerks of the royal table (494-5), also the intendant of the food of the king (496). In the Ist dynasty the large flint knife appears as the badge of the royal carver (497). The royal waiter is said to be clean of hands in the IXth dynasty (Qau) and the XVIIIth (498). The royal servants are named *hem* (499) and *bak* (500): the *hem* was a bond-servant (as to a god), or a slave, while the *bak* was a voluntary servant, as a chief's wife was servant of a king.

The storehouses were usually long tunnels of brick side by side, as at the Ramesseum; they are figured as under a controller (502) or intendant (503). That this sign does not mean a temple is shown by the "controller of the stores of the inundation" (506), where the beams, ropes, and tools were kept ready to repair the dykes. Also in (505) there are named the storehouses of the temple, which clearly separates the meanings.

Porters, *thă*, are sometimes named as the "bearer of the writing tablet, *on*, before the king," (508), and the scribe of the porters (509); also the bearer of the bow, already quoted (214). There was a warden of the porters, *qeru*, of the temple of Sety I (510).



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| 510 | 𐌲𐌳𐌰𐌿𐌴         | P. C. 93             | 𐌲𐌳𐌰𐌿𐌴 |
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| 516 | 𐌲𐌳𐌰𐌿𐌴         | XIX, T. 1618         | 𐌲𐌳𐌰𐌿𐌴 |
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| 563 | 𐌲𐌳𐌰𐌿𐌴         | B.M.                 | 𐌲𐌳𐌰𐌿𐌴 |
| 564 | 𐌲𐌳𐌰𐌿𐌴         | B.M.                 | 𐌲𐌳𐌰𐌿𐌴 |
| 565 | 𐌲𐌳𐌰𐌿𐌴         | B.M.                 | 𐌲𐌳𐌰𐌿𐌴 |
| 566 | 𐌲𐌳𐌰𐌿𐌴         | M.K. C. 20054        | 𐌲𐌳𐌰𐌿𐌴 |
| 567 | 𐌲𐌳𐌰𐌿𐌴         | A.S. XVII, 92        | o     |
| 568 | 𐌲𐌳𐌰𐌿𐌴         | XII, B.M. 168        | 𐌲𐌳𐌰𐌿𐌴 |
| 569 | 𐌲𐌳𐌰𐌿𐌴         | G.W.T. 82            | 𐌲𐌳𐌰𐌿𐌴 |
| 570 | 𐌲𐌳𐌰𐌿𐌴         | R.C. XXXIV.          | 𐌲𐌳𐌰𐌿𐌴 |

The public works were a large department, as we see by the profusion of temples remaining, and were especially under the king's control. The initiative was royal, as in the descriptions of Aohmes planning the memorial of Teta-shera, and Hatshepsut planning the obelisks. Sety I also planned the works on the desert road to the mines. There was an intendant of the royal monuments (511),

and frequently the temples are described as monuments ordered by the king, also a royal intendant of all works (512-3) ; an extensive claim is by the "intendant of all works of the king in woods, fields, deserts, among the farmers, and in the Delta marshes" (514). The works are named "among the monuments of his majesty Horus" (515), in the palace (516), and in the Turra quarries (518) ; the great monuments are named (519) and the "maker of glorious works of the king" (520). Locally there was the management of works in the south and north (521), the works at Erment (522), at Abydos (523), the temple of Tahutmes III (524), and that of Sety I on the west of Thebes (525) ; the works of the great royal tombs appear (526-7), and the inscribing of them under the "intendant of works of excellent writings in the glorious mountain" (528). Controllers and overseers were employed (529, 530-1), and Tahutmes IV is said to countenance, or "give face to," all works (512). The scribes of controllers (513), and scribes for the inscriptions (514), a secretary (515), and keeper of the workmen (516) have left their record. The brickwork is shown by the action of piling it up (538), and the stone building by applying the plummet (*Athribis* xviii) (539). The large amount of the carving and inscribing is indicated by the graver, *qed* (540). This sign cannot have been used for mere masonry, as no one could build with a graving tool or a knife ; it must mean the long and tedious sculpturing of the surfaces, a more serious work than the mere constructing. There are the intendant of carvers (541), the scribe (542), the scribe of the quarry (543), the overseer of the transport sledges (544), the warden of the quarry (545), who was the leader of the provincial city, the intendant of the magazine of the intendant of works (546), the "warden of the registered workmen of his majesty" (547), and controller of registered workmen or *corvée* (548). These titles give a glimpse of the immense organizations, which made the long quarry galleries hum with labour under all the great kings, now the most desolate of places, the refuge of bats and jackals.

The care of the public food supply was a most important charge of government, with which we are familiar in the story of Joseph. In the Ist dynasty there was a seal of the granary in the fortress of Sezahetep (549), and throughout the history the storage and registering of grain was a large concern of the rulers. The intendants of granaries of the south and north were often the veziers (550-1-2) ; the granaries of the king (553), the controller (554), deputy head of the granary (555), the administrator of the granaries of the king (556), the scribe (557), and the royal sealer of the granaries (558), have all left their memorials. We find a gatekeeper of the granary of a temple (559), an intendant of the domain of the granary (560), an office of a granary (561), and a "granary for the satisfying of the body" (562). The stages of transport are mentioned, as the round bottomed crate in which the ears were carried (563), see *P. Arts and Crafts*, Fig. 71 ; the store chamber where the ears were piled before threshing (564-5) ; the diwan of the measuring of corn (566) ; the overseer of measuring (*khăy*) (567) ; the office of accounts of corn (568) ; and the scribes of accounts and of division of corn between the landlord and cultivator (569-70).

These details of the way of managing the country, though trivial in themselves, yet give a living impression of the precision of management and subdivision of labour, on which that great and permanent civilisation was based. I much hope that corrections and additions to these lists will be forwarded to me, in order to form a more complete gazetteer of the system of Egyptian life.

FLINDERS PETRIE.



## REVIEWS.

*Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte.* By WALTER WRESZINSKI, Teil II ; *Lieferung I.* 10 pls. (Hinrichs, 1924.)

Prof. Wreszinski begins a new campaign with the first sheets of the second part of his Atlas, and, profiting by experience, is evidently going to render us even better service than before, not only by the much larger scale of photographs, but also by leaving the tombs of Thebes for more inaccessible sites, and by gathering in the over-ripe harvest of the temples. The enlarged or unreduced photographs involve a very inconvenient *format*. Under the circumstances this may be forgiven, but triply-folded plates should be absolutely banned. Publication by photographs alone is rarely satisfactory, but, when they are on an adequate scale like this, one has to reconsider one's judgments ; for, where the wall is fairly well preserved, one cannot only dispense with line-drawings, but even control them, as is proved by the sheets here laid before us. The present issue comprises excerpts from Beni Hasan, El Amarna, Medinet Habu, and Karnak. I gather that the author hopes to include 175 sheets in the full work, and to complete it in little more than a year. It is to be hoped that in his selection Prof. Wreszinski will give unpublished or unfamiliar scenes the preference.

A reviewer, however, has the duty of looking gift horses in the mouth. If there is nothing but praise for the photographs, the same can scarcely be said for the line-plates, which, being evidently drawn from the prints by an unpractised hand without further aid, invite the famous condemnation of the books of the Alexandrian library as either useless repetitions or in manifest conflict with truth. It is inexplicable why in cases where, as with sheets 6, 11, 12 and 14, careful tracings or copies from the originals have already been published, these should have been made no use of, and even contravened. Unless very exact, line-drawings which do not gather in the minute evidences of colour and relief detract from, instead of adding to, the value of photographs of this quality. For the rapid reader will naturally assume that they have drawn upon added knowledge, and will usually consult them in preference, not noticing that they are full of error and ignoble contours. But as the Atlas itself provides the means of criticism and correction, this warning may suffice. The detailed description of the plates, though excellent, is not quite beyond cavil, and much of it might be replaced by cited parallels and variants. Sheet 14 may be taken as an instance. Read there " Plate 43 " for " 33." Semites do not wear feathers or carry the axe ; the third man is therefore a Libyan, as his hair shows. The puzzling object in the hand of the Egyptians may be a sack, as recruits (or members of the commissariat) carry these (*Theban Tombs Series*, III, pls. 24, 25 ; *Mission Française*, V, p. 229). Or it may be the object which is elsewhere seen hung on a staff as a standard (*El Amarna I*, pls. 26, 29 ; III, pl. 31, and, more clearly, in Tombs 56 and 93 at Thebes). It may therefore actually be a sandbag or a swinging club used as a weapon.

N. DE G. DAVIES.

*Lieferung 2.*

This contains eleven more plates of these splendid reproductions, giving for the first time efficient renderings of some subjects which have never been accurately copied, and for the scenes at Beni Hasan—and elsewhere—a control over all the previous copies. We are none of us infallible, not even the most accurate, as the photographs witness. A work like this ought to have been done by the Egyptian Government long ago, but the national effort ended in Vol. 1 full of deficiencies, and now it seems that Egypt cannot even build a storehouse for a treasure when it comes to them for nothing.

F. P.

*Antiques, their Restoration and Preservation.* By A. LUCAS. Sm. 8vo. 136 pp. 1924. 6s. (Edwin Arnold.)

This handbook gives the practical experience of a professional chemist, and is therefore a competent and safe guide to all who have not such qualifications for the delicate and complex questions involved. It ought to be the primary reference at hand in every museum. The influence of the conservation at Tutankhamen's tomb is evident, and the opening chapter called "Restoration," would be better termed "First Aid," dealing with the means of immediate safety before transport, while the next chapter concerns the ultimate condition in museums. The various materials involved, and the methods proper to each of them, occupy most of the book. A few pages at the end give some of the elementary chemistry which should be the basis of every curator's training.

There are, however, various lines of experience; and, in view of the certain future of this book as a standard of reference, it may be well to give some results of other experiences which may supplement this work.

P. 12. Where breaks are fresh, as on pottery or faience, the joining should be done before cleaning, in order to save the edges.

15. In making joins of fragments it is often well to use rubber bands, with crushed paper wedges on the convex side under the band, so that the band makes equal angles on each side of the outer edges.

16. Celluloid cement is readily made from disused photograph films (washed clean), and it can be employed of any stiffness up to firm jelly, usually as thick as stiff treacle.

20. Paraffin wax has been much extended in use during the last twenty years, in the form of paraffin butter. Pour the wax, barely melted, into an equal volume of benzol, and shake up; the white butter will melt with the finger warmth, and can be spread as thickly as required. After the benzol has evaporated, a slight warmth will fuse the film of paraffin into the substance. On wood the amount of wax is thus enough to fill the fibres, without choking the pores and darkening the face; a light brushing will polish it, and leave a waterproof coat. On other material it is also very desirable to apply a thin wax coat, as on the wax panel portraits when in fair condition. Thicker amounts can also be added more safely in this way than by flooding with melted wax. Any excess of melted paraffin is best removed at once by rag, and not by scraping when solidified.

25. In museums the protection from light is best assured by fall-down flaps of dark stuff, which must be held up during inspection.

27. Show cases can only be made dust proof by free ventilation through cotton wool filters.



34. Polished alabaster may only be wiped with damp cloth; water spoils the polish of calcite, though not so readily as that of gypsum.

39. For reed or basket work, hot rice water or tapioca is an excellent stiffener, not darkening the colour.

47. It is not well to use vaseline in any position where it can attract dust. Paraffin wax, being hard, is the best coating, laid thin, as in paraffin butter.

56. Much may be done with ivory if tightly bound with cotton thread; after soaking in water, it can be dried and paraffined. The safest treatment for all salt ivory is to make a very stiff jelly, lay the ivory in when barely melted, let it cool, and thus remain for several weeks for the salt to dialyse out. Bones can be treated similarly in tanks of size. If there is crystalline calcite deposited on the ivory, then paraffin the whole, clean the calcite with benzol, and dissolve it with nitric acid, which will barely touch the paraffined ivory.

61. Paraffin bedding would be best for fragile enamels.

63. Gold should be cleaned with camel-hair brush and plain water, and never rubbed or stiff brushed. It should be left to look old, and not like modern jewellery. Incrustations may be crushed and dislodged, rather than affect the whole surface by solvents; such are only needed when there are exuded silver or copper compounds.

66. Gilt gesso or cartonnage is best fixed by paraffin wax; it may be cleaned with a tuft of cotton while the wax is melted.

72. Thick incrustation of chloride of silver on coins was removed by Ready very simply, "I 'eats 'em red 'ot"; as chloride melts at only a quarter of the heat of melted silver, the process seems safe.

78. If hydrochloric acid is used for stripping copper, the white oxychloride is best removed by hot hyposulphite of soda.

82. The magnesium powder in glycerine jelly, used by Rosenberg, seems an ideal way to remove chlorine from a metal, especially suitable for small patches. There is no finer face to be had on copper than that left after flaking; any nearly pure copper will bear blows from a light hammer, which crack away all the exuded crust, and leave the old face with original polish intact, although spongy inside. A wire brush should never be used anywhere within reach of a metal face.

86. If iron is not deeply rusted there is no cleaner method than vapour of strong cold nitric acid. The rust loosens, and should be brushed off daily under a tap of water, drying the iron rapidly on a gas ring before replacing over the acid. At last the metal looks like aluminium, and should be very rapidly heated and paraffined. The actual wasting of the metal in this way when bared is only 1/5,000th inch daily.

96. Panel portraits painted with wax are found in every state of disorder. Varying thicknesses of paraffin butter can be laid on and melted in, with very little risk of damage if the heating is rapidly used.

100. If pottery is cleaned with acid it should be thoroughly saturated with water before, and the acid soon washed off, and repeated if needed, so as to prevent its entering the body.

101. Ink inscriptions on pottery or stone may be flushed over with a splash of hot paraffin, so as not to enter the pores, but only to glaze the surface. Some ostraka will bear soaking and scrubbing without losing the ink.

104. The all-important removal of salt from stone should never be done by the Berlin soaking in a tank, which destroys the surface without cleaning the interior. The only right way is to bed the worked face on wet sand, and let the

moisture in the stone evaporate on the plain back, carrying out the salt with it. A crop of salt crystals can be scraped away every day until the stone is cleansed. Another method, less complete, but very useful before packing, is to wet the stone, and plaster an inch of wet sand all over the face, pressed tightly on. In a few days this dries, and all the salt is in the sand and goes when that is cracked off. A stone which had crystals of salt on the face was so cleaned by a sand coat that no trace of salt could be tasted on it afterwards.

110. The organic filth in textiles is best extracted by balling the tender pieces inside the stronger, and then soaking and squeezing the water out of the mass. If this is done every minute for about half an hour, the effluent is fairly clear; on opening out the lump each piece can be delicately picked loose and laid in a stack of newspapers to dry.

119. No special form of balance is needed for taking the specific gravity of small objects. Put a glass of water in the scale pan and balance it, then hang the object in the water by a fine wire held in the hand, without touching the glass; the increase of weight in the pan is that of an equal volume of water.

*Manuel d'Archéologie égyptienne. Les éléments de l'architecture.* Par G. JÉQUIER. 8vo. 401 pp. 250 figs. (Paris, Picard.) 1924. 30 frs.

This work deals mainly with the artistic view of architecture in each of its elements, and the principal feature is the exhaustive series of some forty capitals from the decorative combinations of the Ptolemaic and Roman temples. The arrangement is clear and complete, dealing with the materials, the foundations and floors, the walling, doorways, windows, stairs, pillars, columns of all types, roofing, and the kernel of the whole in the shrines, altars and statues, beside an account of obelisks. We may wish that any English publisher would produce such a volume at the price. All this, as in the title, deals with the "elements," without much notice of the combination, either in plans, or as to strength, or regarding the effect of the whole. As a general text book of various parts of a stone building it is excellent for students. We might wish that the panelled brickwork was traced to the actual wooden houses of the same design, of which the various pieces remain to us, and are modelled in the proto-dynastic wooden sarcophagi. The open sky lighting in the hypostyle halls, seen in the Ramesseum, might also be noted, as such halls would otherwise be gloomy. We hope that Prof. Jéquier will find opportunity to study brickwork more closely. He often refers to mud walls, *pisé* or *pilonné*, yet among hundreds of walls very carefully examined for the sizes of bricks, not a single piled wall has ever been found; had they existed they would have survived as well as the brick walls, or better, as there would be no temptation to use them later for material. Then the difference between vertical and battered walls is not one of material, but entirely that the batter is the outer face, the vertical face is the inner. The sizes of bricks are of great value historically, as they steadily degrade over several centuries, until a fresh start is made; it is useless to quote a few examples thousands of years apart, especially when the sizes named differ from those in the sources quoted. The wavy walls are an economical way of building a long length of fence stiffly, like corrugated iron. The fallacies of Choisy are repeated about the walls in alternate sections being so built to prevent sliding. They are on desert where no sliding is possible. The real purpose was to build alternate towers of brick, so that thoroughly dry cross walls would hold up the outer face; when well settled, a



curtain wall was put in between the towers. The sand bed under a building is said to be incompressible; the real purpose of it was to enable the building to hold together while the soil shifted with the Nile rise, the sand easily sliding a small amount. It is to be hoped that the statements about brickwork will be brought up to the good standard of those on stonework.

*L'Art égyptien. Études et Histoire.* Par JEAN CAPART. Tome I. *Introduction générale, Ancien et Moyen Empires.* 8vo. 323 pp. 1924. 35 frs. (Vromant, Bruxelles.)

This volume is a second edition of the first half of the *Leçons*, which was noticed in this Journal in 1921, p. 17. By repeated halving, the first half of the present book was issued in an English translation noticed in this Journal in 1923, p. 63. There is therefore little to be said further; but we may note that here the use of *pisé* is correctly limited to the use of daub upon wattle, plastering over fences of palm sticks or maize stalk. It is gratifying to see that a public demand continues for such a substantial and authoritative work.

*Les Textes des Pyramides égyptiennes.* Traduction par LOUIS SPELEERS. Tomes I et II. Bruxelles. 1923.

The first of these two volumes contains a translation of the Pyramid Texts, the second contains a glossary, concordance, and indices.

It is difficult to know whether to congratulate M. Speleers on his gallantry in attempting the impossible, or to deprecate the attempt. One should know, first, what class of reader he desires to reach. It can hardly be the scholar, for everyone with any claim to scholarship has already worked through the Pyramid Texts, making his own glossary, and his own translation with the help of commentaries and notes occasionally published by the great scholars. Every scholar knows that the Pyramid Texts bristle with difficulties in words, constructions and meaning; therefore a mere translation without notes or grammatical commentary is of little use to him. If, however, M. Speleers aims at reaching the many students who are struggling alone with the difficulties of the Egyptian language—and these students are more numerous than is usually supposed—then he is certainly conferring a benefit. Maspero's translation is now unattainable except for a few, and a complete translation, such as this, gives an opportunity to students to make themselves familiar with the ideas at least, and is also a basis for further work. The very fact that many passages can bear a different construction from that put on them by M. Speleers is an incentive to further study. The perfect translation is sometimes a hindrance to further advance; but M. Speleers' translation will be used by many as a basis on which to work.

M. A. MURRAY.

*Catalogue of the Ethnographical Museum of the Royal Geographical Society of Egypt.* By E. S. THOMAS. 8vo. 130 pp. 50 pls. (Extract from the Bulletin of the Society, vols. xii and xiii), Cairo, 1924. 4s.

This is a most useful piece of work, indispensable for any curator who has the care of an African collection. About 500 objects are described, each with a sketch, often amplified with details; thus we have the ideal of a working list for practical comparison. The whole is classified in twenty-six sections, though unhappily no list of contents or index is provided. The interest to us is mainly in the resemblances to forms used anciently in Egypt. Most of the connections are with Somaliland and Eritrea, such as the form of drums, spacers for strings of

beads, the tapering dagger, the bows, the arrowheads unbarbed, and the flag-shaped fans from Yemen just opposite. A few things are Central African, as the harp with wide bowl base, the low bed frames, and the trap of radial spikes. This distribution bears on the unity of the Punite and Egyptian culture. Several important classes of objects are distinctly unlike the ancient forms; the use of metal bracelets has entirely driven out the old shell or horn bracelet; head rests all have four (or rarely three) legs, always carved, an entirely different line of development from the Egyptian. Clubs, throw sticks and shields are all different from the old forms. The early prehistoric tubular vases with conical foot are so much like an ivory vase of the Nyam Nyam that it suggests the origin of the form from tusk carving, but no necessary modern relation.

*Les Inscriptions phéniciennes du tombeau d'Ahiram, roi de Byblos.* Par RÉNÉ DUSSAUD. 4to. 23 pp. 5 pls. (In *Syria*, V, pp. 135-157.)

This article is of the highest importance in the history of the Phoenician alphabet, dealing with the earliest such writing yet found, attributed by the remains in the tomb to the XIIIth century B.C. On the end of the lid of a splendid stone sarcophagus, and along one side of it, is a clean-cut inscription stating that "Aphasbaal, son of Ahiram, king of Gebal, has made this sarcophagus for Ahiram, his father, as a dwelling for eternity. And if it be a king among kings, or a governor among governors, who encamps before Gebal, and who finds this sarcophagus under the paving, Hathor shall be his judge. The throne of his king shall be overturned, and destruction shall fall on Gebal when he shall efface this inscription at the gate (?) of Sheol (?)."

The last two words are doubted because they involve a spelling unknown before, *pp* for a duplication of *peh*, mouth, compare *bab*, gate, and *shrl* or *shbl* for *shaul*: but who can say how spelling may have been changed in some centuries before these words are known elsewhere? Another inscription in precisely similar letters is placed on the side of the shaft to the tomb, three short lines giving notice that it was tabu to descend. Two vases of Rameses II were found, and the pieces of fine Mykenaeen pottery belong to the age of Rameses II, or rather before that.

Another brief inscription of a king Abibaal has been added on the side of a statue of Sheshenq I, dedicating it to the Baalat of Gebal. This inscription has later forms of the *aleph* and *gimal*, while it agrees with the earlier form of the *kaph* on the Ahiram tomb. Thus the changes are in accord with the relative dates of the works, as the signs of 930 B.C. are intermediate between those of 1300 and 842 B.C.

This earliest inscription is recognised as having a decisive voice on the nature of the Sinai writing; the firm continuity of the Phoenician system as far back as 1300 B.C., with only slight changes, is accepted as showing that it is very unlikely to have been in a rude and inchoate stage of attempts in 1500 B.C. The Sinai writing is, what was pointed out when first found, a rude attempt to adapt some hieroglyphs (not hieratic) to a cursive script, with other pictographs brought in. The Phoenician names are not proofs of origin of the forms, but merely nick-names by which to know them: we do not think that A was originally a picture of an archer, or B of a bull, though we tell children so, to excite the memory.

Now, M. Dussaud, setting aside the Sinai writing and de Rouge's theory, is much exercised to know where the signs originated. He does not seem to know that most of them occur in the XVIIIth dynasty, sometimes used for regular

writing, and that through the XIIth and the Ist dynasty they are found far back into the prehistoric. The examples of the XIIth dynasty date<sup>1</sup> are placed here along with the Byblos and Mesha forms, as there can be no question that they precede those inscriptions. It will be seen that three-quarters of them are practically identical, and others are early stages of the Byblos forms. The *vau*, the *yod*, the *kaph*, the *tau* of Byblos are more like the Egyptian forms than like those of Mesha. The *mim* is evidently a cursive form of the Egyptian sign, which has a long tail added later. The *yod* sign is a familiar mark in Egypt, and agrees exactly with the Byblos form when turned. The differences are nowhere more than would naturally result through a change from engraving to cursive brush-work. It has never been sufficiently noted how both the Sinai script and the Phoenician show degradation owing to brush or pen writing; the curved connections and long tails are foreign to cutting into stone, wood or metal.

|                 | a | b | g | d | e | v | z | h | th | i | k |
|-----------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|---|---|
| XII DYN. EGYPT  | ✕ | 7 | ) | △ | ≡ | Y | ⊥ | ⊞ | ⊕  | ℵ | ↓ |
| XIX DYN. BYBLOS | K | 9 | 1 | ▽ | ≡ | Y | ⊥ | ⊞ | ⊕  | ℵ | ↓ |
| XXII DYN. MESHA | K | 9 | ^ | △ | ≡ | Y | ⊥ | ⊞ | ⊕  | ℵ | ↓ |
| XII DYN. EGYPT  | l | m | n | x | o | p | - | q | r  | s | t |
| XIX DYN. BYBLOS | L | 3 | 4 | ≡ | ○ | ) | - | - | 9  | w | + |
| XXII DYN. MESHA | L | 7 | 7 | ≡ | ○ | 7 | h | 9 | 9  | w | x |
|                 | l | m | n | x | o | p |   | q | r  | s | t |

This brush-work implies commercial documents and letters, a frequent writing, and not merely a rare means of identifying stone monuments. We need now many more examples of early script to clear up the history of a system which began long before the Phoenicians, and has so far outlived them.

*Comptes Rendus.* 1924, p. 208.

At Byblos, since the departure of M. Montet, three caves have been accidentally found in the grounds of the American orphanage. The clearance has been made under the direction of the Service of Antiquities by the soldier Collin, who guards the ruins of Byblos. There were obtained a great quantity of pottery and some scarabs like those found in the great jar of the temple of Byblos. These caves go back, therefore, to the bronze age. We must ask what dynasty were the scarabs? How were they found? Were there burials? Had they been disturbed? Is "the soldier Collin" the only French archaeologist available for such an important discovery?

*Metropolitan Museum of Art. The Egyptian Expedition, 1923-4.*

Though the staff from New York were largely occupied with the tomb of Tutonkhamen, work was nevertheless continued on a large scale both at Thebes and Lisht. At the temple of Mentuhetep, at Deir el Bahri, the grove of trees was found, according to the plan on limestone which was discovered; the great

<sup>1</sup> Petrie, *Formation of the Alphabet.*



tomb known as the Bab el Hosan was completely cleared, and it proved to end in a chamber almost exactly under the supposed pyramid of the temple above. The great enclosure of the court of Mentuhetep's temple is now found to the north, and it seems that nearly all of Hatshepsut's temple was within the sacred area of the earlier king. The tomb of queen Neferu has been found, and many wax ushabti figures in model coffins of wood ; on these, and on pieces of sculpture from the tomb, the name of the queen's mother is Aoh, which is that of the mother of king Neb-kheru-ra Mentuhetep. Beside this, scratched on the north wall of the court of the temple, there occur several times the words " Son of Ra Antef given life," with a cartouche round Antef. This is evidently the heir Antef shown with Mentuhetep and Queen Aoh at Shatt er Rigaleh. Moreover, the seal bearer Khety represented there is identical with the same official whose tomb has been found at Deir el Bahri. Thus the whole group of Shatt er Rigaleh are now accounted for.

Foundation deposits of Hatshepsut, now discovered, show that the original plan of the front of her temple was considerably altered. Though no grove of trees was before it, some papyrus pools were found cut in the rock, with dried-up mud and bits of papyrus stem remaining. Several more details were recovered of the forecourt of this temple, also the great tomb in which the 153 priests of Amen were found in 1891. In another tomb of the XXIst dynasty a well-preserved burial with coffins of a princess Hent-taui was obtained, with two others. She was probably a daughter of Men-kheper-ra, whose sealings were found here. Later burials had also been piled in the tomb and, all around, burials continued down to the fall of paganism.

At Lisht, the excavations were renewed after five years' suspension. The pyramid of Senusert I proves to have been on the system of the Lahun pyramid, with eight radial walls, and cross walls of stone, forming pits filled in with rubble instead of brick as at Lahun. Wide clearances of ground were made, and a few good things turned up, which had been missed by plunderers. Last of all was a fine XIIth dynasty seated figure of an official, but nothing that adds to what we knew.

Mr. N. de G. Davies and Mrs. Davies have continued their copies of the tombs, particularly making facsimiles of the foreigners of Rekhmara and of Rames.

*Haremhab, commander in chief of the armies of Tutonkhamon.* By H. E. WINLOCK.

In this Bulletin is described a beautiful seated figure of the great general Haremhab, cross-legged, holding a roll of papyrus. It is of life size in grey granite, 3 ft. 10 ins. high, and now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. On it he says :

" I was the most righteous of the courtiers ; upon the announcement of any crime, I was ready of tongue in rectifying it.

" I enforced the laws of the king ; giving regulation to the court and guidance through my mouth, and there was nothing which I did not know.

" I was the leader for every one ; seeing that every man knew his course, and not forgetting myself that which was entrusted to me.

" I was one who gave communications to the Lord of the two lands ; the mentor of all the forgetful, and was not unmindful of the words of the Lord.

" I was one who reported to the Council ; nor did I neglect the designs of his Majesty."

From the invocation to Ptah, Ptah-Osiris, and Osiris of the Memphite Sanctuaries, it is evident that this was found at Memphis, as is reported. An outline of the life and politics of Haremheb are given, but no mention of his Memphite tomb and its sculptures, which were abandoned when he became king.

The Metropolitan Museum has also acquired a large alabaster jar of Merneptah with bull's head handles, and a blue glass lotus cup (stem restored) of Tahutmes III, both given by bequest of Lord Carnarvon. The astronomical ceiling of the tomb of Sety I has been photographed, and is reproduced (Bull. Dec. 1923); also a squatting figure of Hor, a Bubastite official, from the region of Denderah.

*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri.* Part XVI. By B. P. GRENFELL, A. S. HUNT and H. I. BELL. 8vo. 343 pp. 3 pls. 1924. 42s. (Egypt Exploration Society.)

This volume is of Byzantine business documents, needful for building up a view of the period. The most interesting details are in A.D. 496, the lease of a ground-floor room facing south, at a third of a solidus, or four shillings, yearly; in A.D. 495 a loan of 2 solidi (24s.) at 1 per cent., presumably *per* month; and in A.D. 554, under Justinian, a widow was obliged from poverty to give away formally her daughter of nine years old, to be adopted by a shopkeeper and his wife, with a proviso that if the girl was ever reclaimed all expenses of her maintenance would be repaid. For the history of the produce, and its management in business, there is a large amount of detail.

In an article on the Hittites, in the *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research* (January, 1924), Prof. Mercer takes the position that Taiy was not Gilukhipa, but was another Mitannian princess, "for the name is Mitannian in character (*see* Ta-a-a, Ta-i-til-la). She was thoroughly acquainted with political circumstances; she corresponded with Tushratta in favour of Amenophis IV; she influenced the politics of her husband and son; and Tushratta sent special gifts to her, and greeted her on several occasions."

In *Art in America* (October, 1923) Mr. Walter Roselle publishes a steatite figure of a couchant bull of Babylonian work, having the trefoil spots on it, like those on the couch of Tutonkhamen; such spotting is otherwise unknown in Egypt.

A remarkable series of basket work patterns on pottery bowls, some like those of the white cross-lined pottery of prehistoric Egypt, is given in *Designs on Prehistoric Mimbres Pottery*, by J. WALTER FAWKES (Smithsonian Coll., January, 1924). This ware of New Mexico is also distinguished by surprising figure designs, as spirited as the first Susian work.

As an example of archaeological work, we must welcome Prof. Hamada's report on an *Ancient Sepulchre at Midzuo*, with 29 plates. This follows the best style of western research and includes a diagram of the limits of dates from ten different kinds of objects, showing within what years they all agree. The mid date is A.D. 500, and the tomb was that of a prince, with jewellery, diadem, swords and a great variety of pommel patterns. Happily, Prof. Hamada keeps up the provision of an English summary, in 28 pages.

*Catalogue of Muhammadan Textiles of the Medieval Period.* By A. F. KENDRICK. 8vo. 74 pp. 25 pls. 3s. (Victoria and Albert Museum.) 1924.

This catalogue is a continuation of the three volumes on Textiles from Egypt, noticed in this Journal 1921, p. 57; 1922, 54; 1923, 87. The earlier examples here are from Egypt, and are dated during the XIth century. There seems to be a breach between these and the earlier work of Byzantine age, suggesting that the earlier examples do not extend far into Arab times. The question now lies as to what textiles can be ranged in style between the two groups, to represent the first three centuries of Islam. Three quarters of the catalogue is occupied by Egyptian stuffs; the other examples are of Syrian, Sicilian, Spanish or Chinese origin. The difficult questions of origin and trade diffusion are discussed, so far as the scanty sources permit, drawn from the woven inscriptions, places of finding and medieval statements, bringing in the evidence of Continental specimens. There is a richness and fullness of the Chinese examples, which curiously continue the themes of the western art with an aesthetic difference. The latest style here is in no. 973 of the XVth century, which is of Syrian Levantine design, familiar in Turkish work. The subject needs far more examples from dated sources to disentangle the various lines of design. This welcome catalogue rounds up Mr. Kendrick's work, which will be a boon to curators.

*Lettered Egyptian Textiles in the Victoria and Albert Museum.* By STEPHEN GASELEE. 4to. 12 pp. (*Archaeologia*, 1924.)

This is an appendix to the catalogue by Mr. Kendrick, dealing with the woven inscriptions in Greek and Coptic. Unfortunately these are almost entirely names of saints, and in no case is there any evidence of data from the words.



## PERIODICAL.

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*Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache*, Vol. LIX, Pt. I, 1924.

SETHE, K.—*Die Sprüche für das Kennen der Seelen der heiligen Orte* (continued). This portion of the article deals with Chapters 109 and 107 of the Book of the Dead. The subject matter of these chapters purports to be the "souls of the East"; the claim rests entirely upon their mention in line 19 of Chapter 109, without consideration of the context. These chapters are grouped with Chapter 108, which refers to the "souls of the West." An early connection between these chapters is manifest in the similarity of their titles; "To enter and go forth by the eastern (or western) gate of heaven," and in the joint appearance of the texts in a different version in Chapter 149.

Chapter 109 is clearly divisible into three independent parts, which are held together only by a common reference to the eastern sky; all begin with the words "I know." The speaker knows (1) The gate through which the morning boat of the sun god issues in the morning; (2) the two sycomores between which the sun-god rises; and (3) the "Fields of the Reeds," whose rich corn crop is harvested by the "souls of the East." The triad of gods named at the end of this Chapter consists of Horus of the Horizon, a calf, and the morning god (*ntr dwꜣy*), i.e., the morning star. In a handbook of religious terminology of Roman date (Berlin Pap. 7089) the "souls of the East" are given as Ra-Horus of the Horizon;

, (the god of Ombos, Kus and Letopolis) and .

The god which takes the place of the calf of Chapter 109 in this papyrus appears as herdsman of the calves in Pyr. 771.

SCHARFF, A.—*Briefe aus Illahun*. This article deals with 55 letters in the collection of Berlin papyri from Illahun. Most of these letters are addressed to the temple scribes of Illahun, and they throw some light on temple administration, though the subject matter consists mostly of complaints about insufficient supplies of work-people or offerings. The letters appear to cover a period of nearly 90 years in the reigns of Senusert III and Amenemhet III. In some cases, letters dealing with similar subject matter are fastened together. The draft of the reply is often written between the lines in red. The name of the sender is only included in the address in the case of a letter from a subordinate to a superior. From one letter it appears that the *Wag* festival was a movable feast, since it was to take place on the 17th day of the 2nd harvest month. The dates for this festival in the Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom, known from other sources, were the 18th or 17th day of the 1st month of Inundation.





of the god of light, another form of the arch fiend who usually takes the shape of a snake. In a XIIth dynasty text, Kees finds the old *motif* of the fight between the god of light and the fiend of darkness transferred to the Osiris legend (" seized is *Nbd* who is in the darkness"), and invocations to Osiris such as " thou awakest to life, see, the earth is light " clearly show a connection with the return of the sun from darkness and the underworld. These passages have some bearing on the transference of Set to the Osiris myth as the murderer of Osiris, as in some texts Osiris seems to be in danger from his enemy at night time, even after death.

MISCELLANY.

SETHE, K.—*Noch einmal zu den Kurznamen auf j*. To his previous work on pet names (*Zeitschrift* 1923) Sethe adds the extraordinary nomenclature of a XIIth dynasty official at the pyramid of King Tety of the VIth dynasty. This man was known as "Tty-m-s-ef (Tety is his protection) his beautiful name, according to the naming of the people Tt·y" (ⲉ ⲧⲏ ⲛⲓ ⲙⲟⲩⲱⲥ ⲡⲁⲗⲕⲣⲏⲩⲭⲏⲥ ⲃⲏⲩⲧⲏⲩⲫⲏⲥ ⲛⲏⲩⲧⲏⲩⲫⲏⲥ ⲛⲏⲩⲧⲏⲩⲫⲏⲥ).

SETHE, K.—*Zum Namenswechsel des Königs Phios (Pjḥj I)*. A further example of the change in name of Pepy I. [Really only battered, but no name substituted.]

GUNN, BATTISCOMBE.—*The writings of the word for "grapes."* The writer suggests explanations of (1) the inexplicable presence (according to Sethe in *Zeitschrift* 1923) of the ideographic  in place of phonetic  in the word for "grapes," and (2) the vocalisation of  $\epsilon\lambda\theta\omicron\omicron\lambda\epsilon$ .

GARDINER, ALAN H.—The term   *pr-n-st3* in *Pap. Mayer A*. The writer quotes a confirmatory example (Urk. IV, 639, No. 21) of his view of this term *n-st3* as meaning "which can be dragged."

L. B. ELLIS.



## NOTES AND NEWS.

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THE article on the Galla origin of the XIIth dynasty (1924, p. 38) has called forth a reminiscence from M. Daressy that "already in past days of the Bulaq Museum, my colleague, E. Brugsch Bey, told me that Dr. Schweinfurth, the great traveller, had been struck by the resemblance of the sphinx of Tanis to the Galla type, and that he had been the more interested because, according to a tradition among the Gallas, their ancestors had conquered Egypt." This is good confirmation of the connections pointed out, as Dr. Schweinfurth's wide acquaintance with African peoples in his continual travels makes him one of the best witnesses on the subject.

### *British School of Archaeology in Egypt.*

Miss Caton-Thompson, accompanied by Miss Hughes, reached camp 1 in the desert north of the Fayum, by the middle of December, to work for the British School on the prehistoric settlements. The well-known Fayum flints, now nearly all swept away by native dealers, have risen to historical importance since the discovery of the Badarian civilisation as their equivalent. Half a dozen of the best-trained men are in the party, and are going excellently. The main difficulty is keeping up the water supply; as all local opinion said that the desert there was impossible for a motor car, it required the determination of Miss Thompson to make it succeed, as she has done. The existence of the party depends on keeping up a thirty-mile desert run of motor daily to fetch water. Happily, a good driver, with war experience, was obtained.

After a fortnight at camp 1, not very far from the Michigan work at Kom Ashim, the move was made to camp 2, where many small settlements were found with much pottery. A fortnight later, camp 3 was pitched at Kasr es Sagha, the small perfect temple about five miles north of Dimay. The whole question of the prehistoric limits of the lake and the settlements will be fully worked out. Finding the aneroid unsatisfactory, Miss Thompson has levelled up from the lake for over five miles, to make certain of the positions. There was a settlement of some rich folk in the XIIth dynasty near Kasr es Sagha, the only historic remains found, but prehistoric pottery and flints extend far along the former water level. This region searched, Miss Thompson has now joined Mr. and Mrs. Brunton, who have resumed work at Badari.

### *Egypt Exploration Society.*

Everyone interested in archaeology will deplore the sad death of Mr. Newton, who was one of the most zealous and accurate of excavators. His loss leaves a gap which cannot be filled as regards architectural research.